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SPEECH

1814 - 1873<sup>OF</sup>

MR. JAMES DIXON, OF CONNECTICUT,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

NATURALIZATION LAWS,

AND THE

ORIGIN OF THE NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY.

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*Delivered in the House of Representatives U. S., December 30, 1845.*

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

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## S P E E C H .

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Mr. DIXON addressed the House as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER: Had the debate on this subject been confined to the question appropriately before the House, I should have made no objection to the reference of the resolutions offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, to any committee which the friends of the measures therein recommended might have desired. But, since the discussion has taken so wide a range as to embrace the whole question of what is called Native Americanism, and the vote on the question of reference is likely to be understood as a test of our opinions on the general subject under consideration, I cannot consent to record my vote as in favor of the doctrines of the Native American party. The true question now to be decided is, not the question of reference, but whether this House will authorize the conclusion that its members are willing to extend any degree of favor to these doctrines.

What, then, are the principles of this new party? If I understand them they are, first, an extension of the time required by the existing law before naturalization is permitted; and, secondly, the disfranchisement of all foreign born citizens, by declaring them ineligible to public office. I am aware that the resolutions before us do not go that length, but these, I think, are among the acknowledged principles of the party. Now, sir, while I am willing to go as far as any one in preserving the purity of the ballot-box, I have no hesitation in declaring my entire and decided opposition to both these principles. The period of probation now required before naturalization is, in my humble judgment, sufficiently long; and I am opposed to its extension: still more am I opposed to that narrow bigotry which would deny to the foreigner the right to hold office. If the people choose to select for any office within their gift one not born upon our soil, they ought to have the privilege of so doing, without any restriction whatever. To them the question of qualification may be left with entire safety, and there is very little danger that too great a degree of liberality will be exercised, or that sectional prejudices will be too easily overcome. The evil, if any exists, is of another character, and from another source; it lies not in the existing law, but in the frauds perpetrated upon it; frauds which the wisest legislation cannot entirely prevent, and which would probably be increased, as the motives for their commission were strengthened by extending the term of probation.



But it is not my intention to occupy the time of the House in discussing the principles of the Native American party. I confess, however, that I do not share in the fears of those who apprehend danger to our institutions from the increase of our foreign population. Those who entertain this apprehension mistake, I think, the nature of these institutions, and fail to comprehend fully the spirit of the age in which we live. We have tried, successfully thus far, the experiment of self-government, founded upon free and universal suffrage. It has been our policy to invite and encourage emigration by extending to the emigrant the same civil and religious privileges which we enjoy, and, from every land where man is oppressed by the iron hand of despotism, and human hopes and energies are crushed by usages grown inviolable by time—from the worn-out Principalities of Europe, perhaps even at some future period from the populous Kingdoms of Asia, the tide of emigration will pour in upon our country. The population which we shall thus receive will mingle with our own—the lapse of a few years will remove them and us from this stage of existence, and their children, like ours, will be native-born Americans. Shall we fear, then, that this stream of emigration may endanger the purity of our political institutions? As well might we indulge the apprehension that the thousand rivers, which, from the snow clad summits of a thousand mountains, are pouring their mighty torrents into every sea, may freshen the waters of the ocean.

But I have entered upon this discussion with the view of taking another view of the subject. It has been said, during the progress of this debate, by a gentleman on the other side of the House, that the Native American party is not, as it professes to be, an independent political organization, but is in reality only a wing of the Whig party. This charge I utterly deny, and shall attempt to show that, so far from originating or being in any way connected with the Whig party, the native faction had its origin in the strongholds of modern democracy, and has been encouraged and upheld by the leaders of the Democratic party. They brought it into existence, they participated in the riots and murders which accompanied its progress, they shared the patronage it dispensed in the hour of its triumph, their party alone reaped its benefits, and it was not until the efforts of patriotic whigs in New York and Philadelphia had laid it prostrate, that their voices, with few exceptions, were raised in its condemnation. At this late hour, when the battle has been fought and won by whigs, who threw themselves into the breach regardless of personal defeat, and stemmed the tide of native proscription, shall we be charged with being allies of nativism? No, sir; it was in the inordinate passion for the spoils of office, in the pursuit of which the Democratic party had already inflicted such a countless train of evils upon the country, that the native movement originated.

Permit me, sir, to refer to facts, which prove conclusively the connection of the party which calls itself democratic, with the first movements and rapid growth of Native Americanism. If I am wrong in any of my statements I shall be happy to be corrected. And first, let me ask in what portion of the country it originated? It was first heard of as a party in the neighborhood of the city of Philadelphia—not in the city proper, but in the democratic precincts adjoining. There is a vast political, not to say moral, difference between the whig city of Philadelphia and the democratic districts in the vicinity; and while the former has never been tainted by the native



heresy, the latter was the place of its birth, and the scene of the frightful outrages which attended its early progress.

It happened that, in one of these democratic precincts adjoining Philadelphia, an Irish citizen, named Hugh Clark, was, about six years ago, nominated to an office of considerable importance by a democratic convention. This nomination, though made in entire accordance with the usages of the party, gave great dissatisfaction to a portion of the democracy. They could not endure the idea of conferring an office upon a foreigner. In their opinion the adopted citizens should serve their country in another capacity—as voters—not as officeholders. According to their idea of democracy, the duty of a foreigner was to vote the democratic ticket; but when it was suggested that one of these men should be rewarded for his services to the cause by an office, their sensibilities were shocked, and their patriotism took the alarm. Accordingly, when the day of election arrived, a sufficient number of democrats "*spotted*," to use their expressive word—the name of Hugh Clark from the ticket, and while all the other democratic candidates were elected by a large majority, he was defeated by a vote equally decisive; and this, for the ostensible, avowed reason, that he was an Irishman. He was not born on the right side of the water.

The election passed, and all was apparently quiet. The event was by many forgotten, but not by the Irishmen of that district. They remembered the injury and insult they had suffered, and they only awaited a favorable opportunity to avenge the wrongs of their brother. An opportunity was soon presented. Three years afterwards another election, similar to that just mentioned, took place, and the democratic Irishmen of that precinct, with Hugh Clark among their number, abandoned their former political associates, and voted for the excellent whig candidate for sheriff, Morton McMichael, and for the whole whig ticket, which by their aid was successful by a large majority.

On discovering the cause of their defeat the rage of the democratic leaders knew no bounds. The Irish voters were denounced with a bitterness far exceeding in degree the servility with which they had before been flattered. No terms of reproach were too strong—no opprobrious epithets were too severe, to be heaped upon the heads of the foreign population. It would seem that the democratic leaders had supposed the votes of foreigners to be their own property—that, in their opinion, adopted citizens were bound soul and body in the thralldom of democracy, and that for them to think and act for themselves was a crime deserving the most condign punishment. They seemed to be astounded by the discovery that their Irish fellow-citizens had had the unparalleled audacity to act with the independence of freemen; and when they were actually proved guilty of having voted with the whigs, the enraged and disappointed leaders of the democratic party prepared to inflict the punishment which the enormity of the crime demanded. Then it was that the outcry was raised against foreign voters; then began the persecution of Irishmen in the vicinity of Philadelphia; then were first held those native meetings, called and principally attended by native born democrats, who had lost the emoluments of office by foreign votes. These native meetings were the cause of that excitement, which ended in the riots, the murders, the burning of churches, with which we are too familiar. They never would have been held but for the indignation which the adopted citi-



zens of Kensington and that neighborhood, had aroused in the breasts of democrats, by merely exercising peaceably the right of suffrage and voting the whig ticket.

And now, sir, to prove conclusively, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that these lamentable and disgraceful scenes had their origin with the leaders of the democratic party, let me state one fact: The same infuriated mob which perpetrated those enormities to which I have alluded, proceeded directly from their horrid work of murder and devastation to the house of this same Hugh Clark, (whose friends had caused a whig triumph at the preceding election,) and literally sacked, disembowelled, and left it in ruins. Was this a whig mob, think you? No, sir; it was a mob of infuriated democrats, wreaking their vengeance on an Irishman who had by his influence aided the whig party. And still, sir, in the face of these facts, there are not wanting those in this House, and elsewhere, who have had the hardihood to assert that the riots of Kensington and the Northern Liberties originated with the whigs. This wicked falsehood has had its day, and has produced in some measure the effect for which it was intended; it has alienated for a time many adopted citizens from the cause which they know to be the cause of the country; but its day is past, and its effects cannot be repeated.

I might, if it were necessary, give the names of individual members of the democratic party who were active in originating the native organization in the vicinity of Philadelphia; but I shall forbear to do so, unless it shall be rendered necessary. I will, however, state that I have been informed, and I believe it to be true, that the only two clergymen in the city of Philadelphia who were found so far to forget the duties of their sacred calling as to attend Native American meetings, and by their harangues excite to madness the most malignant passions of the human breast, and add new bitterness to the unfounded prejudices which already existed against adopted citizens, were open and avowed politicians of the democratic stamp!

In what portion, let me ask, of the county of Philadelphia have the native disturbances occurred, and where has the native party been strongest? The city proper has been the scene of none of these riots—none of this church-burning—none of this triumph over the ashes of the dwellings of foreigners—ending in a political triumph over the spoils of office.

(Mr. CHARLES J. INGERSOLL here interposed and said, that in the very heart of the city a church was burnt in the presence of the mayor.)

Mr. DIXON resumed: But the mob which burnt it came from other quarters; nor is the gentleman from Pennsylvania right in saying that the church of which he speaks was in the heart of the city. It was situated upon its northern confines, and the mob which broke down like "fierce barbarians" upon the whig city of Philadelphia, and destroyed this church of Saint Augustine, was a democratic mob from the democratic precinct of the Northern Liberties!

So much, sir, for the history of Native Americanism in the place of its birth. The leaders of modern democracy brought it into existence, and nursed its infancy. As it increased in strength, they directed its energies, and led its infuriated partisans to the excesses of which they were guilty.

Let us now trace the history of this party in the city of New York. Was not that city sufficiently democratic in the spring of 1843? The democra-



tic candidate for mayor was then elected by the astounding majority of five or six thousand votes, and the party seemed safely enthroned in power for an indefinite period. But it happened here, as in the vicinity of Philadelphia, that some of the most prominent democrats, among whom was the celebrated Job Haskell, took offence at the appointment of a few Irishmen to office. It was claimed by them that foreigners were entitled to hold no office whatever, and to establish this principle, some of the most prominent leaders of Tammany Hall originated the native party. That it was wholly a democratic movement in its origin in New York, and that Tammany Hall was the place where it first saw the light, none will attempt to deny. At the election in the fall of 1843, this party had, in the short space of six months, become so large as to encourage its friends to continue their exertions; and, in the spring of 1844, Native Americanism, in the democratic city of New York, prevailed by a plurality of more than four thousand votes. How was this result effected, without the aid of democratic votes, in a city which had a democratic majority of 6,000 one year before? A reference to the election returns of 1843 and 1844, will show to what party the Native Americans were indebted for their victory in the latter year.

In 1843, the whig vote in the city of New York was 19,817. This was the whole whig strength in a hard fought contest. Of these, 5,297 adhered to the whig nomination in 1844, when there was confessedly not the slightest prospect of success, leaving about 14,000 whigs, who, knowing they could not succeed with their own ticket, voted for James Harper, or for Mr. Coddington, the democratic candidate. It is well known that great numbers of the whigs of the city of New York voted for the democratic candidates, knowing that there was no possibility of succeeding with their own. Probably nearly all the adopted citizens of the whig party thus voted, hoping thereby to defeat the native ticket. This accounts for a large portion of the whig loss. Mr. Harper's vote was 24,510; and, admitting that all the whigs who abandoned their own candidate voted for him, which is admitting all that our democratic friends claim, where, I ask, were the 10,000 votes obtained which were required, in addition to the votes cast by the whigs, to complete the full number given to Mr. Harper? It is reduced by the election returns to a mathematical certainty, that no less than 10,000 democrats of New York, with all their pretended love for the foreigner, abandoned their own ticket, when success was certain had they been true to their candidates. Now, sir, it must be remembered that the whigs who voted for Mr. Harper, the native candidate, had many reasons for so doing, aside from their regard for the principles of the native creed. They despaired of the election of their own candidate. It was natural that they should be willing to vote in such a manner, as to defeat the democratic candidates in whose political principles they had no confidence, against whom they had so long been struggling, and who were personally odious to the great mass of the whig party. But what excuse had the 10,000 democrats who joined in the crusade against naturalized citizens? Their party was flushed with victory, and confident of success. Their candidates were popular, and had their entire confidence. There was, then, every reason why they should adhere to their own ticket, and nothing but the most intense hatred of adopted citizens, and devotion to the narrow, illiberal doctrines of nativism, could have induced this army of 10,000 democrats to abandon their



party, in the hour of its triumph, and decide the doubtful contest in favor of the native party, and against their own friends.

The victory which democratic votes had thus given to the natives in New York, enured, it must not be forgotten, to the benefit of the democratic leaders, with whom nativism originated. Job Haskell, one of its principal movers, was elevated to the high office of a judge, and his associates were rewarded not only by seeing all foreigners excluded from office, but by seeing themselves appointed. The native party having the entire control of the immense patronage of the city, thought themselves secure in their power; and now, sir, if this native triumph was such in form only, and was in substance a whig victory, what had the whigs to do but unite with the natives in maintaining their ascendancy? But, instead of such a coalition, such concert of action, between what gentlemen here call the two wings of the same army, you find the whig party, in subsequent elections, refusing all connection with the native faction—and the democratic party of the city of New York, now reduced by the defection of great numbers of its members who have united with the natives, to a miserable minority, is only able to preserve its sickly ascendancy by the refusal of the whigs to unite with the native party, though by so doing they might give a finishing blow to the old enemy with whom they have been so long contending.

What, sir, has been the history of the Native American party in Boston? That city has been as decided in its political character as the city of New York. If the one has been strongly democratic, the other has been as decidedly whig. And now, sir, let us see what has been the fate of nativism there. The new party made its nominations in the city of Boston; if both the old parties had remained true to their nominations, or if even a portion of the democracy had persevered in voting for their candidates—as did the noble-hearted whigs of New York on a similar occasion—nativism would never have succeeded in Boston; but while the whigs remained true, and refused to abandon their candidates, after five desperate charges they lost the election; for behold, the democracy of Boston withdrew their own nominations, and cast their votes for the Native American candidates! Were they a wing of the whig army?

Thus it will be seen, that while in the whig city of Philadelphia nativism has scarcely been known, it has had its greatest triumph in the democratic city of New York, and has had a short-lived ascendancy in Boston, through the treacherous connivance of the democracy of that city. So much for the union of democracy with Native Americanism at the ballot-box.

But my proofs of the intimate connection between the leaders of the democratic party and Native Americanism do not stop here. A few evenings before the Presidential election of 1844, which resulted so disastrously for the country, an immense procession of Native Americans paraded through the streets of New York. It was probably the largest political procession ever formed in this or any other country. The whole city seemed to pour forth its thousands of inhabitants to swell the countless throng, and both the old political parties were struck with dismay at the spectacle. During the march of that procession an event occurred, which stamps the political character of the Native American party. The procession, in its triumphant pro-



gress, took its course to Tammany Hall, the Mecca of political pilgrims, where all true democrats, after long wandering from the faith, may return and catch a new spark of the celestial fires of modern democracy—as comets, after a wide, eccentric sweep into infinite space, are said to

“run  
To the embraces of the sun,”

to replenish their fires. Here the procession halted, and then went up a shout which made the welkin ring and pierced the very skies, for *Wright and Gardiner, Polk, Dallas and Victory*. For proof of this fact I refer to the N. Y. Plebeian, then a most decided and able advocate of Mr. Polk's election, and now, under a different name, a supporter of his administration. Let me ask, sir, if this procession was a wing of the whig army?

But further, sir, if further proof is necessary, in October, 1844, the same paper (the N. Y. Plebeian) published in its columns several extracts from Mr. Clay's speeches, in which he (Mr. Clay) advocated the rights of naturalized citizens, and that paper thus influenced the natives to cast their votes against the man *who was too favorable to foreigners!* Permit me to read an extract from a speech of Mr. Clay, which you will find thus quoted by that paper, as a reason why Native Americans should vote against him and for Mr. Polk. It is as follows:

“The honest, patient and industrious German readily unites with our people, establishes himself upon some of our fat land, fills his capacious barn, and enjoys in tranquility the abundant fruits which his diligence gathers around him, always ready to fly to the standard of his adopted country, or to the defence of its laws, when called by the duties of patriotism. The gay, the versatile, the philosophic Frenchman, accommodating himself cheerfully to all the vicissitudes of life, incorporates himself without difficulty in our society. But of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was originally part and parcel of this continent, and that by some extraordinary convulsion of nature it was torn from America, and drifting across the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness, the same generous hospitality, the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterize the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has sometimes been called the Ireland of America; and I have no doubt, that if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home!”—*Mallory's Life of Henry Clay, vol. 2, p. 19.*

This is the language of Henry Clay of Kentucky, quoted by the leading democratic paper of New York as sufficient in itself to prevent his receiving the votes of the Native American democrats. It had its effect, undoubtedly, in confirming the hostility of native partizans to Mr. Clay. And yet, in the face of facts like these, the political associates of the editor of that paper are now attempting, on the floor of this House, to convince the country that the native party is a wing of the whig army, and that the democracy are the exclusive friends of foreigners!



When, where, and by what measures, have the democratic party, (falsely so called,) shown any evidence of their regard for our foreign population? Is this friendship manifested by opposition to a tariff, which not only protects their labor from a ruinous competition, but gives them constant, well paid employment? Is it shown by attempting to reduce our currency to the specie standard, and to bring down the rate of wages to the European level? Is it a mark of friendship to the emigrant to excite his prejudices against a class of citizens comprising one-half of our entire population, and to endeavor to arouse in return unkind feelings towards him in the minds of this great body of our people? Do the interests of foreigners require that, even after their naturalization, they should continue a separate class in the midst of our countrymen, and as such be appealed to by political demagogues, who may desire their votes? Should they not rather cease to feel and act like foreigners, when they throw off their allegiance to the crowned head, under whose dominion they were born, and as they have become, by their own voluntary act, republicans, know no other character than that of free American citizens? The men who, here and elsewhere, make such loud pretensions of regard for foreigners, seem unwilling that they should become amalgamated with our native population—and, with no feelings of class or clan, vote as they may judge best for the country, without reference to their origin; but they desire, by constant appeals to them as a separate, independent class of citizens, to hold them apart from the great body of the people—among us but not of us—to keep alive every imaginary difference, to excite every half-forgotten prejudice, and prevent the perfect union which would otherwise take place between the foreigner and the native. The interest of selfish politicians in this state of things is sufficiently manifest, but it is not consistent with the true interests of the people at large. The foreigner should never act as a foreigner, nor the native as a native; but both, forgetting every consideration but the good of their common country, should act as Americans. Both would then be influenced in their votes, by their own views of the correctness of the principles and measures submitted for their decision; and the result would be that, as different individuals take different view of subjects presented to their consideration, the foreigner would no longer be classed as such, on either side of the great questions of the day, but, blending with our population, would be known only as an American. That such a condition of things would conduce greatly to the best interests of all, cannot admit of a doubt. It was the too successful efforts of native-born democrats, to array adopted citizens in a separate class—to excite the mutual prejudices of natives and foreigners, and to induce our foreign voters to act in a mass in favor of the candidates of the democratic party, (while, at the same time, no foreigner was allowed to hold any important office,) which gave birth to the native party in the vicinity of Philadelphia. Such was the legitimate result of the pretended friendship of the democratic leaders for foreigners! How much more noble, how much more in accordance with the true interests of all, is the policy of the whig party on this subject—making no appeals either to natives or foreigners as such—scorning all narrow, illiberal, sectional views—looking at the country with its diversified population as one great whole, and knowing no such thing as a foreigner in this land of freedom; but recognising all who dwell on our soil, and breathe our air, no matter on what side of the Atlantic may have been



their birthplace, as American citizens. Could such be the feeling of all classes of politicians, the question of Native Americanism would never again be heard of. Let us see how far the conduct of "*the democracy*" has proved the truth of their professions.

It is well known to every gentleman who hears me, that the self-styled democratic party by way of proof of their exclusive friendship for our foreign voters, especially for Catholics, preach to them loudly in favor of toleration, and the rights of conscience. Now, sir, if there is a State in this Union which is blessed beyond all others with the light of democracy in all its purity, it is the State of New Hampshire. It is her boast that she is truest of the true; that the winds of Heaven that kiss her silver lakes are not more pure, the eternal snows that glitter on her mountain tops are not more unsullied, than the democracy of her sons. It is not my present purpose to deny her high claims to distinction in this respect, but I wish to call the attention of the House to a few extracts which I propose to read from the constitution of this thrice democratic State, as a specimen of the consistency of modern democracy, and the love of the democratic party for foreigners, as well as their liberality towards the religion of a majority of our adopted citizens. In the constitution of the State of New Hampshire, printed in the year 1845, by the order of the House of Representatives of that State, I find the following beautiful specimens of democratic toleration and liberality:

"*Section 14.* Every member of the House of Representatives shall be chosen by ballot, and for two years at least next preceding his election shall have been an inhabitant of this State; shall have an estate within the district which he may be chosen to represent of the value of *one hundred pounds*, one-half of which to be a freehold, whereof he is seized in his own right; shall be at the time of his election an inhabitant of the town, parish, or place he may be chosen to represent; *shall be of the Protestant religion*; and shall cease to represent such town, parish, or place, immediately on his ceasing to be qualified as aforesaid."

I find, also, a similar provision with regard to the Senate, as follows:

"*Section 29. Provided nevertheless*, That no person shall be capable of being elected a Senator *who is not of the Protestant religion*, and seized of a freehold estate in his own right, of the value of two hundred pounds," &c.

And further—

"*Section 42.* No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor, unless he *shall have an estate of the value of five hundred pounds*, one-half of which shall consist of a freehold in his own right within this State, and *unless he shall be of the Protestant religion.*"

Such are the provisions of the constitution of the democratic State of New Hampshire. Now, sir, let us suppose that a foreigner, a son perhaps of the Emerald isle, was about to leave his native shores, and emigrate to this land of liberty. Before leaving his home, should he inquire what political party in the United States was most friendly to Irishmen, he would of course be told, that the democratic party professed the warmest friendship towards all foreigners, and claimed indeed to be their exclusive friends. If he further inquired which of the States of the Union was most democratic, he would be told that all the sisterhood of States yielded the palm, in this respect, to New Hampshire



—that there democracy existed in its *native* purity—(the democracy described by the gentleman of Michigan, pure and unsullied as when heaven-born it first descended from the skies,)—and he would without a moment's hesitation select New Hampshire as his adopted home. By the aid of the glorious whig tariff, which has diffused, and is still diffusing, innumerable blessings far and wide throughout the land, he is in a few years enabled to overcome the first obstacle placed in the way of his political promotion, by the *democratic* constitution of New Hampshire, and acquires property of the value of 100 pounds. He is nominated as a candidate for the legislature, and is elected, (provided always that he is not "*spotted*," like Hugh Clark of Philadelphia, by his democratic brethren for being an Irishman.) But as he is about to take his seat he finds another objection in his way. He is asked, before being permitted to act as a legislator, what is his religion. "I am a Catholic," is his reply. "Then, sir," he is told, "you cannot sit in the New Hampshire legislature; the constitution of that democratic State permits no Catholic to hold certain offices. You must either change your religion, or relinquish your seat." Now, sir, whatever else may be said of the Irish, their worst enemies will admit that an Irishman adheres with sufficient tenacity to the faith of his fathers. He will not hesitate long on this point, but will abandon his seat, and probably at the first opportunity will sell out his property and leave the democratic State of New Hampshire, thinking it, as Dr. Johnson said of a certain other country, "*an excellent place to go from*."

In what I have said, Mr. Speaker, I mean no disrespect to the State of New Hampshire. The illustrious gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. ADAMS,) the other day, in presenting a remonstrance from that State, exclaimed, "*God bless the State of New Hampshire!*" And well may every whig unite in that exclamation. Yes, sir, God bless the State of New Hampshire! Bound as she has been in the iron fetters of party—steeped to the very lips in the false democracy of the present day, thrice distilled—she is now fast bursting the chains which have so long bound her; the clouds are sweeping from her sky, and she is emerging into day. Her whig sisters are prepared to hail her as almost regenerated; and I venture the prediction that one of the first acts of the whig party of New Hampshire, should they come into power, would be to propose an amendment of the constitution, by striking out the anti-republican property qualification, and the odious religious test, which now disgraces the State.

What, sir, has been the effect of the organization of the Native American party upon the country? It seems from the course which this debate has taken, that certain gentlemen in this House hope to give currency to the opinion, that they and their party are the peculiar friends of the foreigner. They now execrate the native party, while they have instigated its worst acts, and owe in a great measure to its existence their own ascendancy; precisely as in some districts of the country they have execrated the abolitionists, whose political action they have also encouraged, and to whom they are greatly indebted for the power they now possess. It has been their policy to denounce these parties in public, while in private they have aided and encouraged them. I know of no benefit which has accrued to any portion of the country from either of these parties, except to the democratic party. Indeed, I do not believe that the existence of a third party can ever result



in any political good to the country at large. Such a party can be productive of nothing but unmitigated evil. If any good is ever to result to our nation through any political organization, it must be through one of the great existing parties which now divide the country. I, of course, believe that it is from the whig party alone that the country can hope to receive beneficial legislation. Gentlemen of different political sentiments perhaps as naturally entertain a similar opinion with regard to their own party. One thing, however, is certain, that one or the other of these parties must bear rule in this country. Perhaps they will take turns, and I confess I believe our turn will soon come. The gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DOUGLASS) has just sneeringly spoken of the "*late whig party*." I think the gentleman may soon discover that our party is still in existence. I profess no prophetic vision, but if I were permitted to utter to the gentleman a note of warning, I would say to him: Go on with the mad and reckless measures of your party. Re-enact the odious Subtreasury law, which, having been three times repudiated by the people, only awaits their action to receive its fourth condemnation—a measure which has been the ruin of one administration, and will as certainly be the ruin of the present; carry it out honestly and fairly—create one currency of gold and silver for office-holders, and another currency of depreciated paper for the people—repeal the protective features of our whig tariff, by which prosperity has been restored to the country—destroy our manufactures, and deprive the people of that honest and constant employment by which they live and prosper; carry out, in short, all the measures of your party, without shrinking from the responsibility you have courted, and I assure the gentleman that all the arts of persuasion, all the powers of eloquence, which he and his political friends on this floor may possess, will be insufficient to retain the power they have abused within the grasp of the stiffening and palsied hands of modern democracy.

Sir, the whig party have no fellowship with the doctrines of Native Americanism, although they are always ready to purify the ballot-box, and to prevent and punish fraud. The charge of instigating riots, murders, and church burnings is false, and they hurl it back upon their accusers. The whig party are neither church burners nor yet "*barn burners*." One wing of the democratic party has taken to itself the very appropriate name of barn burners. Whether the other wing may with equal propriety be called church burners, I will not now undertake to decide; but the vile epithet cannot be fastened upon the whig party.

The great evil with regard to foreign voters is, that demagogues attempt to delude them into the belief that the democratic party are their exclusive friends, and often with too much success, the foreigner being necessarily, at first, unacquainted with the real character of political parties in this country. But the remedy for this is not in forming a new party, to persecute and oppress the foreigner. No, sir; the remedy is a different one.

It was hinted at, a few days since, by the gentleman from Michigan, when he said in a memorable speech that *Education made war against Democracy!* True, the gentleman has since explained his language, and I am willing to allow him the full benefit of his explanation; but truth sits on the lips of some men, and leaps into language ere they are aware; and there was certainly more of truth in the gentleman's remark than he himself supposed. Genuine republicanism—pure democracy—is the hand-



maid of Education. But the false democracy of the present day—the base pretexts by which demagogues often gain a temporary triumph—the covering over of a foul design by a fair pretence—can have no greater enemy than education. Let me specify a few of the false pretences of modern democracy, which education teaches both the native and the foreigner to understand and despise. For example:

When the proposition to annex Texas to this Union was first discussed, the statesmen of the South had the honesty to place it on its true grounds, and openly avowed their object to be the protection of their own domestic institutions by the perpetuation of slavery. While the whigs of the North differed from them on the subject of annexation, we could not but admire the honesty of the friends of the measure at the South, in honorably and openly avowing their real intentions. They had no concealment, no subterfuges, no false pretences. But what, think you, was the ground then taken by the northern democracy? While their southern brethren declared their object to be the extension and perpetuation of their “peculiar institutions,” the leading democrats of the North advocated annexation under the false, the base, the hypocritical pretext that it would be the means of abolishing slavery, and would thus strengthen the North, and “*extend the area of freedom.*”<sup>\*</sup> This was the great argument of democracy in the free States. Such hypocrisy must one day reap its reward, and needs only to be understood to be detested.

Again: Education will teach our citizens, foreigners as well as natives, their true interests, with regard to the protection of American industry. Many of our adopted citizens come from a country where the rate of wages is so low that scarcely a bare subsistence can be obtained by hard, incessant labor. They have only to understand the subject, and they will see that

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<sup>\*</sup>HON. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT, a distinguished member of the democratic party who has received from Mr. Polk the appointment of Minister to China, in his celebrated letter on the Texas question, published in the Democratic Review, Vol. XV, page 259, thus addresses himself to the northern feeling on this subject:

“I repeat, therefore,” says Mr. Everett, “that the general result of this measure will be to enforce more effectually, in Texas, the execution of the laws against the foreign slave trade—to *extinguish slavery in several of the old slave-holding States*, and to *increase, proportionally, the weight of the free, as compared with that of the slave-holding, States in Congress*: in short, to exercise a stronger influence than any other measure that has yet been suggested in favor of the gradual restriction and final *abolition of slavery*. Such being the case, by the general admission of the most intelligent and zealous supporters of both sides of this question, it is really singular that any one should object to it on account of its supposed tendency to extend and increase the influence of slavery; and yet it cannot be doubted, that an erroneous view of the operation of the measure, in this respect, is not only honestly and seriously entertained by many, but, after all that has been said of the rights of Mexico, is the principal cause of the opposition made to it at the north. The great names of Channing and John Quincy Adams had taken the public mind by surprise, and given popularity to the views alluded to before the question had been thoroughly canvassed. When the discussion which it is now undergoing shall have had its effect, the current of opinion will, I think, take a new direction; and I believe the eminent and truly philanthropic men, whom I have just mentioned as opponents of the measure, could they now, with minds entirely unbiassed, look at it under the new lights that have recently been thrown upon it, would be the first to give it their hearty and deliberate sanction.”

In the same volume of the Democratic Review, page 11, may be found the following:

“So far from perpetuating slavery in the United States, the annexation of Texas, or of the slave-holding portion of it, gives the only well-grounded hope, according to all present appearances, for its ultimate extinction!”

The friends of annexation at the south will see, from these two specimens of the reasoning of northern democrats, the grounds on which annexation was by them advocated. Mr. A. H. Everett thinks even Mr. Adams would have favored the measure, if he could only have seen how certainly it would abolish slavery!



such a rate of wages ought not to satisfy an American citizen, whether he is such by adoption or by birth, and that the policy which protects them from competition with this ill-paid labor, is the policy which they ought to sustain by their votes.\*

And here permit me to allude to a remark which fell, during this debate, from the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. BOWLIN.) He informed the House that he was opposed to all the reforms which are now rife in the country, not even excepting the temperance reformation. Now, sir, I can assure the gentleman that in that opposition he will not be supported by the natives of the Emerald isle. The wonderful reformation which has there been effected, under the influence of her own great apostle of temperance, has covered Ireland with glory, and has so raised the moral tone of her inhabitants, that they have been enabled to meet in the most gigantic masses, and yet in the most peaceable and orderly manner, for the purpose of effecting a repeal of their union with Great Britain. There was a time when this would have been impossible. This, too, is one of the great benefits derived from education.

The State of Connecticut provides by her laws for the purity of the ballot-box, but the people of that State are not in favor of creating a new party, on the narrow, bigoted ground of Native Americanism. She protects the ballot-box by her legislation, and she prepares her citizens for their political duties, by the education which she gives every child within her limits, native and foreign. She has welcomed to her shores emigrants from every clime, and she has never, as yet, had reason to regret the presence of the adopted citizens who have chosen to reside within her borders. They are industrious, honest, and peaceable; and their skill in agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, while it has brought to their own firesides prosperity and happiness, has opened to all our citizens new sources of

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\* *Wages in France.*—Calais, common laborers 7½d. per day, with board and without dwelling; Boulogne, 5d. per day do. do.; Nantes, 8d. per day, without board and without dwelling; Marseilles, 4d. to 7d. per day, with board and without dwelling. The food in some districts "consists in rye bread, soup made of millet, cakes made of Indian corn, *now and then* some salt provisions and vegetables; rarely, if ever, butcher's meat." In others, "wheaten bread, soup made with vegetables, and a little grease or lard twice a day, potatoes or other vegetables; but seldom butcher's meat."

*Sweden.*—The daily wages of a skilled agriculturist are 7d. or 9d.; while unskilled obtain no more than 3d. or 4d., and board themselves. Agriculturists in the southern provinces live upon salt fish and potatoes: in the northern provinces porridge and rye bread form their food.

*Bavaria.*—"Laborers are paid at the rate of 8d. per day in the country," without board.

*Belgium.*—"A skilful artisan may earn in summer 1s. 2d. to 1s. 5d.; in winter from 10d. to 1s. 2d.; unskilled half as much, without board: live upon rye bread, potatoes, and milk." Agricultural laborers have less.

*Germany.*—Dantzic laborers 4½d. to 7d. per day, without board; Mecklenburg, 7d. per day do.; Holstein, 7d. per day, without board.

*Netherlands.*—South Holland laborers 3d. to 4d. per day with board; North Holland, 20d. per day without board; Antwerp, 5d. per day do.; West Flanders, 96s. to 104s. per year with board.

*Italy.*—Trieste laborers 12d. per day without board; do. 6d. per day with board; Istria 8d. to 10d. per day without board; do. 4d. to 5d. per day with board; Lombardy, 4d. to 8d. per day do.; Genoa, 5d. to 8d. per day do. and without lodgings; Tuscany, 6d. per day without either.

*Saxony.*—"In 1837, a man employed in his own loom, working very diligently from Monday morning to Saturday night, from 5 o'clock in the morning until dusk, and even at times with a lamp, his wife assisting him in finishing and taking him the work, could not possibly earn more than 20 groschen [about 60 cents] per week. Nor could one who had three children aged twelve years and upwards, all working at the loom as well as himself, with his wife employed doing up the work, earn in the whole more than \$1 weekly."



wealth, and greatly benefitted the State. In the district which I represent, there is a body of foreign voters, from the different countries of Europe, respectable both in numbers and in character. Whether their political opinions are at all to be attributed to education or not, I will not undertake to say; but, that they are exceedingly well informed, no one who knows them will deny; and, sir, I should like to have the gentleman from Michigan witness, as I have done, the energy and zeal with which they war against his kind of democracy.

But, sir, if there were no other reason, this is not a time for assailing our foreign population. It is thought by some who ought to be well informed, and is whispered here, as well as elsewhere, that we are now on the eve of a war with the nation from whose shores most of our emigrants come. Is this, then, a time for exciting the animosity of adopted citizens against any portion of our own countrymen? I do not believe, for one, that war will result from the dispute now pending between this Government and that of Great Britain. While I make no professions of confidence in the present Administration, I give them too much credit for patriotism and diplomatic skill, to suppose for a moment that they are so destitute of both as to be unable to settle this question honorably, and, at the same time, amicably. I fully believe it will be so settled, and that the greatest obstacle in the way of such a settlement is the inordinate ambition of certain individuals, who are now making professions of patriotism, which they hope may at some future time enure to their own personal advantage. There is reason to believe, judging from offers of compromise which have already been made, that the fault is not with the Administration, but with the numerous would-be candidates for the Presidency in 1848, who are now vying with each other in empty threats and high-sounding *professions* of patriotism. These men, I trust, will be foiled in their attempt to scatter the prolific seeds of wretchedness and misery throughout the world.

But, sir, suppose they should be successful, and this nation should become involved in war? To what portion of our countrymen could we look with greater confidence than to the adopted citizens, whose homes are by the side of our own? To foreign arms we were deeply indebted in our Revolutionary struggle. The arms of adopted citizens were raised in our defence in the second contest with Great Britain, and to them we should undoubtedly be deeply indebted in the event of another war. All these sectional, narrow questions of origin, and of birth place, would then be forgotten, as all party considerations would, I trust, be also forgotten; and the native and foreign born citizen would unite in the defence of their common country against the invading armies of a common enemy.